/216 cont./

584 "péwa písayé!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipahǎwana'a wahǎbalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authĭwana sahĭ̃ĭp kobĭtob' ǎble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahĭ̃spa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suabëya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III-1) would have called the woman *suabëya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąmoya*.

The marriage of III-1 to III-2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II-1 and II-4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I-2 was an *adopted* brother to I-5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3-3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny*: III-1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II-3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.